

# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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THREEPENCE



## RETREAT FROM MARGATE

### Peace Council investigates Soviet charges against Tito

AS part of their efforts to counteract world-wide hate propaganda from both sides, the National Peace Council recently conducted an on-the-spot investigation of Cominform charges that Yugoslavia is preparing to attack her Communist neighbours and is supplying bases to "Anglo-American imperialists."

At a press conference in London last Sunday, members of the delegation summed up the charges as unfounded, without, however, drawing "the conclusion that Yugoslavia's neighbours are preparing to attack her."

Members of the delegation present were Mr. John Lawrence, former press attaché in Moscow; Prof. Idris Foster, Prof. J. Lawry, Mr. Sydney D. Bailey, leading Quaker, Mr. Kenneth Ingram and Mr. Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union. Unable to attend were Lord Boyd Orr and Mr. Mark Arnold-Forster, Berlin correspondent of the Manchester Guardian who had to return to his post.

Their interim report states:

"Hoping to obtain fuller particulars of the charges, the leader of the delegation sought an interview with the Soviet Charge d'Affaires in Belgrade, and when this was not granted, he wrote both to the Soviet Charge d'Affaires and to the Secretary of the Cominform in Bucharest, asking for specific details of the charges and for the names of the islands, ports and other places which, according to Cominform propaganda, had been handed over to become Anglo-American bases. No answer was received to either of these letters."

Frank replies from Yugoslavs

"We travelled hard, covering over 2,000 miles by land, air and sea, but mostly on

very bad mountain roads, and travelled for over 150 miles inside the 15 km. frontier zone which is closed to foreigners. We were given every facility that we asked for, were taken where we asked to go, chose our own witnesses wherever we went, made surprise inspections of harbour masters' records, and were given every opportunity to go off by ourselves and make private en-

(Continued on back page)

### DEATH OF TOLSTOY'S DAUGHTER

From Professor Edmondo Marcucci

TOLSTOY'S eldest daughter, Tatiana, died in Rome on September 22. She was 86 years old. A highly intelligent woman, she was a follower of her father's ethical doctrine, a vegetarian and a peace-maker.

It will be recalled that she wrote a letter appealing for a reprieve for Gandhi's murderers to Pandit Nehru (see PN, Nov. 25, 1949) and that she was extremely interested in the cases of Italian COs.

She was the author of many reliable biographical essays and recollections concerning her father.

### THIS TOWN HAS BEEN LIBERATED

(Left and right — two of the freed)



LEFT: A South Korean child, abandoned on the streets of Inchon during the invasion of the port, cries as troops move through the city towards Seoul.—U.S. Army photo and official caption.



CENTRE: The South Korean village of Waegwan. This has been fought over several times and is very nearly levelled.—Photo: Planet News.



RIGHT: Caption to this wirelensed U.S. Army picture states: "Mud-spattered and abandoned baby girl sits hungry and crying by roadside. Korean custom dictates that anyone touching the child is thereafter responsible for her care. American soldiers rescued the youngster and took care of her personally for several days until a Korean family was found who agreed to be responsible for her care.—International News Photos.

"By-pass the governments," say Churchmen

## THE PEOPLE MUST MAKE PEACE

THIS MEETING, held under Christian auspices at Friends House, Euston Road, London, asserts its general agreement with the printed appeal circulated at the meeting, and calls on His Majesty's Government to act boldly as a mediator between the American and Russian Governments, in order to end their mutual provocations founded on conceptions of power politics and do everything possible to further the will to peace of the ordinary people of all countries.

Resolution passed at "Christ and Korea" meeting.

"WE are gathered here that God's will may be done, and that a force may be generated that can be used by God," said Cannon Scrutton, addressing a crowded meeting from the Chair, at Friends House, London, last Friday evening.

A printed appeal was distributed to members of the audience, discussing the present world crisis as the outcome of the rivalry between two power groups and calling upon all Christians to unite in supporting the principle that only a spirit of reconciliation can solve the deadlock.

We are gathered here to choose between reliance on armaments and on the spirit of God, Canon Scrutton continued. He did not believe that God was on the side of the big battalions; we know that Pontius Pilate had the big battalions.

### ONE MINUTE'S SILENCE

Dr. Belden said that those who were responsible for this meeting were a simple gathering; a little group of Christian people who felt that the Christian protest against war was not loud enough and who wished to record an emphatic disavowal of war and at the same time to discover the capacity of the nation for a nation-wide revolt against war. The capacity was there; it needed information; it needed leadership.

It was not the will of God that man should be killed by his fellow-man, he said; and the way of war was abhorrent to God.

He wished that the meeting should stand for one minute, not in remembrance, but in anticipation: anticipation of what it would mean if atomic war broke out. Let us rise, he said, to swear "It will never happen."

While the modern world stands on a "razor edge" we must remember that it is just as possible to step off on the right side as the wrong.

He hoped that a great, popular movement might arise, and that the common people would by-pass their governments. Was not the Church of the Carpenter's son the Church of the common people? Let us think of the figure of Christ and pledge ourselves to make such a peace that no government could break.

Reginald Reynolds imagined a representative of the North Koreans asking how the British justified the action which their government had taken. If intelligent, his first question might be: "Which of the Great Powers is in a position to cast the

### SIX PAGES THIS WEEK

The printing trades dispute and the gas strike have made it impossible to produce eight pages this week. But there will be

### TEN PAGES NEXT WEEK

for a special Birmingham Peace Week issue.

first stone?"

We should ask ourselves: can our present position be justified and maintained by Christian means? If not, we should "cultivate our gardens." Only then would we be in a position morally to throw the first stone; and when we had reached this position, he hoped we should have enough understanding, wisdom and repentance not to wish to cast the first stone, even if we had a moral right so to do.

### THE ROAD FOR YOUTH

Stressing the need to build up a Christian Democracy which should witness against social evils, Bunty Harman inveighed against racial discrimination and against the use of force.

There was abundant evidence that the young wished to commit themselves to a movement greater than themselves. They were willing to forego pleasure and give total allegiance to an idea.

They had followed the false leads of Nazism, Fascism, Communism, and she wished instead they would commit themselves to the way of Christ.

### WAR NOT INEVITABLE

Ethel Mannin did not know whether to call herself a Christian; but if we preferred Christianity we must obey the injunction, "Love your enemies." We did not love them by dropping bombs on them. A third World War would mean annihilation. Some of us wanted to live.

Peoples everywhere were moving towards the Christian Church, said the Rev. Arthur Bellwood, wondering whether she would rise to her destiny and deliver the world from its folly. If only the Church would be faithful to her Lord, then God could use it to reconcile the nations.

Mr. Bellwood said that he believed in miracles. He believed that it was possible to change the hearts of men and to change the whole Church.

The Chairman then put the resolution to the meeting, which was passed unanimously.

The meeting was organised by Wallace Hancock, King's Cross Mission, Cresswell Street, W.C.1.



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## WHO HAS LEARNT WHAT?

**T**HE war is nearing its end, and one side—in this case the North Koreans—will be defeated. It will be finally settled which side were the victors. But that is all that will be settled.

What will still remain in doubt is whether the war has achieved its professed object; whether or not the thousands of conscripts and the thousands of men, women and children who have been torn apart, crushed to death or burnt alive by Christian and democrat airmen have died in vain.

That will remain undecided for some time. For the purpose of the war has been stated clearly—ad nauseam, in fact. Nobody who reads papers or listens to radios can have missed it. Here it is, for instance, in a paper picked up at random:

"A Lesson Learnt in Blood: The aggressors have learnt a terrible lesson—and they have paid for it with their blood. The lesson is—Aggression does not pay. . . ."

★

We believe that statement to be incorrect on every point.

To begin with, whoever the aggressors were, they will not have paid for the lesson with their blood, but with other people's blood.

For it is an essential characteristic of war as a method of punishment that the people who get most and generally all of the punishment are those who have no responsibility whatsoever for the particular offence in question.

Again, assuming the North Koreans to be the aggressors (which is by no means certain, judging by all the evidence we have had time to read so far), it is the height of unreason to say they have learnt that aggression doesn't pay simply because they failed in this particular attempt.

All they will have learnt is that their armies weren't strong enough.

★

Further, the lesson could only be learnt by the aggressors if they believed themselves to be aggressors. And this again is very doubtful. For there is plenty of evidence that the North Korean leaders believed they were about to be attacked, and were merely adopting the principle held by all militarists that attack is the best defence.

Has nothing been learnt, then, by this costly form of instruction?

Nothing new, certainly; but one ancient popular belief has doubtless been confirmed. We may express it in the words of one famous aggressor—whose fate, by the way, taught no lesson at all to the many aggressors who came after him: "That God is on the side of the big battalions."

There is, however, one lesson that may have been unwillingly accepted by large numbers of people; we mean those millions of people throughout Asia who believe (in their heathen blindness) that the western democracies intend sooner or later to attack them and re-establish the tyrannies they have overthrown.

That lesson is simply this: That aggression does pay.

And their proof? That the people whom they believe (in their lamentable ignorance) to be most aggressive have just won a war in Korea.

★

There are perhaps a few other odd lessons which may have been picked up here and there by those, if any, who needed instruction.

One of them is that the Western democracies believe as firmly in mass murder for the vindication of their principles as Hitler did for his.

Another is that in war as now waged by Christian and pagan nations alike there is still no defence for women and children.

On the whole, however, we are afraid the war has had nothing to teach anybody except that the rulers of the earth have learnt nothing at all from all the wars of the past.

If they had, this one would not have been fought.

**T**HE chairman of the opening session of the Labour Party Annual Conference may be forgiven for his exaggerated optimism in calling this the century of the common man while it remains in so much danger of eventually turning out to have been the common man's half-century, with nothing to boast about to follow.

And we can also sympathise with him for taking pride in full employment, in the better distribution of national income, in increased industrial and agricultural production, in the National Health Service and other social insurance schemes, and in the high proportion of university students from working-class homes and the raising of the school-leaving age.

But the name of Keir Hardie ought to have been left unspoken in an address which went on to laud conscription and the official Labour policy for ensuring peace.

A speech beginning with the name of the man who called conscription "the badge of the slave," and wandering through a display of social progress to arrive at approval for an expenditure of a thousand million pounds on arms, before it winds up with a quotation of political expediency.

But it is also like a nightmare animal whose head and body are monstrous in combination, with a glittering tail stuck on to induce forgetfulness of the beast's horrible incongruity.

### Insult to a pioneer

**O**NE of the year's most important speeches within the political party in power has thus become a mess-up of incompatibles and an insult to the pioneer whom it pretends to honour.

One thing, however, even the pacifist can welcome in this speech. It halfway drops in words—and wholly by implication—the pretence that armaments avert wars. It admits that they have not done so in the past and only claims for superiority in them the certainty of victory in the end.

If war were wholly a matter of steel, and all other factors were dead equal between the opponents, the infallibility of this claim would have to be admitted. But as matters stand, with differences existing in various peoples' powers of endurance and the duration and extent of the sufferings they may be called upon to undergo, and

**T**HE outstanding fact in the rearmament debate in the special Session of Parliament just concluded, was the explicit declaration that the big new power drive of the "free" nations within UNO, was the sheet anchor of world peace and humanity's one hope of survival.

It is, of course, the old doctrine that to insure peace we must prepare for war, which is always trotted out as a defence against the pacifists, and as syrup for the churches.

In the past, when wars were restricted, the declaration had some meaning, but in the era of total war and atomic bombs it is a counsel of despair.

The reason statesmen do not see this is that they are too engrossed and overwhelmed with the manifold demands of an overcentralised civilisation to mediate upon fundamental issues. All they have time for is to conjure up phrases capable of alluring despairing people into the belief that the Powers that Be are masters of their fate.

In all critical periods a civilisation's greatest danger is wishful thinking. Fear, perhaps the greatest of man's enemies, is so painful that in order to escape it people will hide behind any iron curtain they can seize hold of. Today they are hiding behind the power of the United Nations, minus the Russian bloc, and the dollars and stockpiling of the United States. But who can say how long America's atomic bombs will remain unmatched by some new demonic device? This uncertain situation is a constant source of doubt and fear, which in a crisis may suddenly be transformed into panic.

The important fact to register is that neither side has faith in anything but power, hence power must be increased at all costs. Among those costs are austerity and the postponement of all those rising material standards of living which are said to be the only bulwark against the spread of Communism.

Hence in the long run the Communists stand to gain most from the struggle for

# Commentary

By ROY SHERWOOD

with ideologies mixing themselves up with economic factors and war aims, even this infallibility is not certain. Let us not waste time on it, anyway, in view of the theoretical nature of the point.

### Two important factors omitted

**T**HERE are two more important factors, which this speech has left out of account. The first of them is "victory." Does the progressive diminution in its value, demonstrated in the two we have gained over the Germans within the present century not suggest that the next one cannot be worth anything at all?

The second one, dealt with in last week's front-page article of the New Statesman, concerns the already existing problem of widespread workers' discontent with present-day living conditions.

"Inside and outside the Labour Movement," writes that paper, "the chief concern today is not more or less nationalisation but a long list of questions: Is my wage packet or my salary cheque a fair return for my labour? Is the miner too well paid in comparison with the schoolmaster or the maintenance engineer? Should we drive skill out of industry by meeting the claims of the lower-paid workers and narrowing differentials? Is the workers' slice of the national cake too small in comparison with profits? And finally, if we all try to get more, will not the effect merely be to force up prices still further?"

### Road to bankruptcy

**I**T is possible to answer the last of these questions with absolute certainty: Prices are already going up, and whatever the Government may do will go up further. The Prime Minister's "We shall all have to make sacrifices" could not have come at a less propitious moment.

And the social and economic benefits proudly paraded by the chairman of the Labour Conference will look less of a worthwhile achievement month by month, as the general standard of living goes down under the combined weight of current government expenditure, interest on loans, (many of them contracted to pay for past wars), and provision for "victory" in the next war.

We have already heard of the "War To Keep The Peace." We may soon hear of Victory Through Bankruptcy.

### Communist instigation unnecessary

**I**T is as plain as anything can be that the Communists are instigating and en-

couraging as much strike action as they can, but equally plain that not all the present increased industrial unrest is due to their activities.

Let anyone who doubts this look at the figures of the Family Budgets, published by The Star on Sept. 28.

They concern three different families, each consisting of a married couple with two children. Of the three, "Brown" and "Smith," with net incomes of £7 and £12 6s. 2d. respectively, consider themselves lucky above the average. "Jones," whose net income is £17 15s. per week, says nothing about particular luck. But they are all equal in having practically nothing to spare, looking upon tobacco and a rare drink as a luxury, and finding themselves in a position in which even a slight increase in the cost of living must become an alarming factor.

If we then turn to all the thousands (or millions) who have less than £7 per week and more than two children, it is not difficult to see how much non-Communist discontent there is room for, without awaiting the foreshadowed sacrifices.

What the rearmament programme amounts to, therefore, even in the short run, is a preference for certain internal trouble to an uncertain external danger.

### The full cycle of ineptitude

**W**ITHIN the premises of power politics, Lord Vansittart is right in his advocacy of German remilitarisation and the restitution of full diplomatic relations with Spain.

As he points out, neither in 1939 when we failed with the Soviets, nor later, when Hitler's invasion of Russia turned them into our allies, nor yet at any other time in our history, have we ever allowed ideological differences to stand in the way of collaboration or alliances against a common enemy. Why should we do so now?

The glibness of such diplomatic reasoning equals its cynicism and its short-sightedness. Two wrongs may better hide, for a little while, an original mistake than a single one; but they cannot make a right. The alliance with one totalitarianism to beat another, has only made the one-time ally stronger while nothing has been achieved towards all-round conciliation.

Now, faced with a more powerful and far more insinuating totalitarianism than the one beaten by an unnatural alliance, salvation is to come from another, equally tortuous, bargain. If it is made, as everything now points to its being made in the near future, our wheel of ineptitude and moral degradation will have turned its full cycle.

# THE IMPASSE OF POWER

By Wilfred Wellock

who has recently become adviser to  
Peace Builders, about which an article  
appears on page five.

military power. Besides, they are much more skilled in the black art of mind-conditioning.

The struggle for high living standards has been proceeding for some 40 years. To date it has given us ten years of war and twenty years of austerity due to war and unemployment. Throughout that period Communism has steadily gained in power, and all the indications are that it will continue to do so, in the Far East especially, but also in Africa, in Europe, and in the USA. The 40 years of struggle against Western Imperialism in the Far East, led by India and supported by Communism everywhere, has put a big premium on Communism as a force of liberation.

This is the impasse of power from which there is no escape except in a revolutionary change in policy and outlook. We are on the road to the third world war and utter destruction, while Russia is in a position to determine the speed and nature of the conflict en route.

As I have repeatedly stated, Socialism has taken over the materialistic values of capitalism, and the struggle for the earth's resources in order to satisfy the mounting demands of high standards of living makes world reconciliation impossible. The two blocs in the UNO conflict over the Schuman plan, and American pressure over the devaluation of the £, clearly prove this.

Without the fundamental change referred to, World Government is a futile instrument. In his recent broadcast sermon, John Hayland associated World Government with the Christian concept of the Kingdom of God. That was on a religious platform. But it never comes up on the political platform, nor have I ever seen it in articles in Peace News which advocate World Government. Not until physical appetites and desires and material values are controlled by spiritual values can any escape from the mass suicide of power politics be found.

In the basic Report adopted by the World Pacifist Conference in India is this paragraph:

"Today the world is in chaos. Its material part is almost completely divorced from its spiritual part. The

material, which knows no moral law has become a law unto itself. If, therefore, the physical world is to be stabilised and saved from self-destruction, it must become part of a unified world order. It must, that is to say, be brought under the control of moral and spiritual law."

The realisation of this truth involves a personal and a social revolution, since the Social Order must be re-organised if the human person, who is increasingly becoming the disintegrated mass man, is to achieve wholeness.

There lies the challenge to present-day pacifism, and we must either accept it or remain a powerless and ineffectual part of the confused and chaotic complex which we call Western civilisation that is now hastening to its doom.

It thus transpires that the impasse of power in which the nations now are, is at root the impasse of materialism.

Hence our problem is fundamentally spiritual; it cannot be resolved at the materialistic level, and at present, neither the State nor the Church, nor even pacifism is prepared to face that fact.

\*Gandhi as a Social Revolutionary, p.32.

## AFTER THE HOLIDAYS

**O**NE of our Manchester members writes: "As I have still a little cash left after returning from the holiday, I enclose a 10s. note as a donation to Headquarters Fund."

This leads me to hope that there will be others also who may have a little to spare which they can send as a thanksgiving for their holiday.

The work of the PPU has to continue all the year round and it will be a great encouragement to find that after the holidays there is a spirit of renewed determination to increase our activities in the coming autumn months.

STUART MORRIS  
General Secretary.

Total received to date: £383 11s. 5d.

Target for 1950: £650.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.



# Hope of Survival

THE necessity of co-operation among independent countries of Asia for the maintenance of peace and the preservation of their own freedom is stressed in a speech by India's pacifist President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, reported in "Indian Opinion."

Whilst India had supported the Security Council's two resolutions on Korea, she would continue to pursue an independent policy based on the promotion of world peace and determined by her ideals and objectives. "Peace remains the paramount need of mankind," said Dr. Prasad, "and its one hope of survival."

This view was endorsed by Mr. Nehru in another reported speech to the Indian Parliament. If the Chinese People's Republic had been admitted to the United Nations, he said, many subsequent developments, including those in Korea, might well have been avoided. The future of Korea must be settled by the Koreans. India had refused to recognise officially either of the present Korean governments, because she did not wish to confirm the artificial, military division of the country.

## Police for Peace?

A LETTER from Baron A. Allard, President of the Belgian "Stop War" movement, to the Communist-sponsored Union Belge pour la Defense de la Paix, discusses the possibility of creating a United Nations police force to protect justice and the rights of man.

Collaboration with such a police force as at present constituted under an American commander would, he writes, be impossible for those working for a single, world government. What was to prevent the "Partisans of Peace" in Europe from organising their own "police force" under a Russian commander? The United Nations should demand a neutral commander for its police force, in place of General MacArthur.

Though circumstances seemed to force us to put our lives at the disposal of one of two evils, he says, to admit the division of East and West, of Communism and capitalism, would bring disaster on all humanity. Citizens of the world must express their will by refusing to take part in this mortal combat. "We stand for arbitration, and not for a bloody victory."

## Next, please!

THE question of a policy of neutrality has also been under discussion in the American "Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists."

Dr. Leo Szilard, professor of biophysics at Chicago University, recommended a cutting of the apron strings of military alliances with America. As free and independent neutrals, the Atlantic Pact countries could resist both American and Russian occupation, thus reducing Russia's fear of encirclement. A French chemist agreed that there is "more risk of destruction than hope of safety in the Atlantic Pact," adding that the heart of his country was not in it.

Another Frenchman, the Catholic philosopher Dr. Etienne Gilson, pointed out that France was not ungrateful or antagonistic to the United States, but "it's simply that the French prefer France to destruction."

Pointing the moral of Korea, "Peace Action," organ of the U.S. National Council for Prevention of War, comments: "What a martyrdom we have permitted for our ally! All countries that want to be other Koreans please step forward."

## Sounding Brass

"PEACE through power" is how "Peace Action" describes the attitude of American militarists; an attitude that has gained a disastrous hold on the nation's policy.

Both during and since the war, it says, the army has blundered over foreign policy, and quotes the former Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles: "No President since General

Grant has had such childlike faith in the omniscience of the high brass as the present occupant of the White House."

In Korea, the head of the American military mission had predicted some limited action by the Communists, with the comment that "at this stage we rather invite it," and adding "it will give us target practice."

The question is, says "Peace Action," do they have the balanced, all-round judgment to formulate sound policy on grave issues of state? "The record says 'No.'"

## League for Freedom

A CORRESPONDENT sends details of the Australian anti-militarist League for Freedom, an organisation that declares:

"None of the Great Powers now engaged in the armaments race has higher motives than a fight for power and economic domination, and there are among them no 'peace loving' governments. We support none of these Governments but extend the hand of friendship to all genuine peace-loving and anti-militarist organisations in all countries."

The League has conducted a valuable survey of the "peace tendencies" among the Churches.

Though on the whole "militarism has had no more valuable allies than Christian Churches and Christian ministers," active groups of peace-makers have been found among Methodists; Roman Catholics; the Church of Christ (which is opposed to military service); Unitarians; and Jehovah's Witnesses.

The League also draws attention to "The Quest for Peace," a book by the late Eleanor Moore, well-known Australian pacifist; and to the monthly journal of the Federal Pacifist Council of Australia, "The Peacemaker."

## Trump Card

WORLD domination is not a new idea, though it is constantly recurring in new guise.

Who will finally dominate the world? During the German occupation of France Field Marshal Goering had said: "It is a question of knowing if the world will be dominated by the Jew or by the German."

A different answer was given by the organisation known as "Les Braves Gens de France." It will be dominated, they said, by the spirit of the commandment: "Love one another."

In reply to Goering, in 1942 a card was printed and circulated showing the world intersected by a Cross. The Gestapo ordered the banning and confiscation of all propaganda of the "Braves Gens," and their secretary was arrested. But after three days he was released through the efforts of the French police who declared him to be an "illumé," or spiritual leader.

## News of COs

THE case for recognition of conscientious objection in France is being pressed by Quaker organisations (reports The Friend).

A letter to the President from the European Section of the Friends World Committee for Consultation expressed the hope that France would "rejoin the family of those nations which honour the rights of conscience" and urged prompt consideration of the Bill providing for alternative service for COs, which has been sponsored by seven members of Parliament. A second letter from the French Quakers argues the case more fully, and points out the scandal of the present "cat-and-mouse" treatment.

## Reservists

THE September issue of "The Objector" gives advice to ex-servicemen now on the reserve who may wish to register as COs.

The only action which can be taken at present, it states, is to send a registered letter to the officer in charge of records of the appropriate service department (keeping a copy for reference), informing him of the decision not to serve again, or to accept only non-combatant duties.

But it is advised that all reservists in this position should be put in touch with the Central Board for COs (6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.), so that they can be informed of any change in procedure.

MARGARET TIMS

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Anti-war speeches — against

IN your issue of September 22 a great deal of space is devoted to speeches in Parliament by Mr. Emrys Hughes and other MPs who oppose the Government's rearmament policy.

The reporting of these MPs at such length is apt both to mislead Peace News readers as to the importance of their speeches and to delude the MPs concerned into believing that they are furthering materially the cause of peace.

The fact is that anti-war orations in the Commons can have little effect. Mr. Hughes and his similarly-thinking brethren are unlikely to convert the Tory Party leaders to Pacifism or Neutrality; there is even less prospect that they will deflect the Labour Party caucus from its purpose of military alliance with America in the coming US-Russian war.

With the abundance of political and other jobs available in return for party loyalty, the trade union and Labour leaders can count on the docility of a great majority of their followers in Parliament.

Mr. Hughes and other MPs with similar opinions will render a much better service to peace and national sanity if they abandon the House of Commons for the constituencies and make there the speeches which are at present merely providing work for the Hansard reporters.

JAMES MOONEY

21 Carrs Crescent,  
Formby, Liverpool.

### — and in favour

CONGRATULATIONS to the Pacifist MPs for their fine efforts in the Commons, and to Peace News for giving them publicity whilst the National Press was devoting its pages to murder trials and arm-chair sports.

If there was ever a justification for increasing the circulation of Peace News, the present-day National Press provides the complete answer.

DENIS BRIAN

24a Breakspears Road,  
Brackley, S.E.24.

### The Lesser Evil

MAY I be allowed to reply to my fellow townsman, whose letter under the head-

ing, "The Lesser Evil," appeared in your issue of September 15.

Accepting that his analogy, although highly improbable, is not impossible, I would reply as follows:—

1. The signalman is not a willing and active participant in creating the conditions which compel him to choose between the deaths of two groups of people. Those taking part in war are constantly creating conditions which lead them to make such a choice.

2. No railway signalman takes on his job with the remote idea that he will be called upon to make such a choice. Death is part of the normal conduct of war and any participant might reasonably expect to have to choose between the deaths of two groups of people. The simple choice of his life or mine is part of military training.

3. Whatever the signalman's choice the result could be estimated within reasonable limits: with the choice before President Roosevelt the result was incalculable in view of the nature of the new weapon.

4. The signalman would have no chance of taking steps to alter the conditions which make such a choice necessary. Probably most of such occasions in wartime, and certainly in the case of the atomic bombs on Japan, the choice is made after much deliberation with plenty of time to attempt to alter the conditions so as to make the choice unnecessary.

From this it follows that the analogy is not a true one. I think that the fallacy is clearly shown by the different nature of the choices to be made — the signalman would have to choose a course of action which would prevent a greater amount of suffering; President Roosevelt had to choose a course of action which would create a smaller amount of suffering.

In his evaluation of this problem I think that Mr. Binder misses the vital point. Even if a man is faced with two evils, one of which is inevitable, he need not choose either. He can act for good. The signalman would be acting for good in preventing some of the inevitable suffering, President Roosevelt could have acted for good in trying to arrange an armistice with Japan.

FRED NICHOLL

14 King William Road,  
Kempston, Bedford

## TOLD BY THE MARINES

THE Daily Mail reported recently that President Truman was in hot water with Congress because of the uncharitable remarks he had made about the Marine Corps, America's "elite" troops now fighting in Korea.

The trouble arose because the President said: "The Marine Corps have a propaganda machine that is almost equal to Stalin's."

The President did not, apparently, mean by this that the Marines have been inciting ignorant native people to red revolution. They have not, like Stalin, been showing the Kurds the Way. Nor have they, like the diabolically clever Soviet propagandists, been trying to convince well-to-do peoples of Asia that Western Democracy has brought only poverty, starvation and disease to the masses of the East.

High-pressure American sales methods are, according to the Marine Corps, too good to be wasted on barbarians who understand only warships and imitation jewellery.

No. The Marine Corps has not been trying to sell American civilisation to the East. It has been trying to sell the Marine Corps to the Great American Public.

The President's remark was "a sarcastic reference to the strenuous efforts the Marine Corps have been making to secure an increase in their strength and funds." And Mr. Truman added: "The Marine Corps are the Navy's Police Force, and as long as I am President that is what they will remain."

One gathers that the President could think of nothing lower than a police force to call any body of men and if the American films we have seen are anything to go by, we can only agree with him.

No details of the Marine Corps' publicity methods are given, but it seems probable that the Marines have been returning to the public some of the tall stories that have from time immemorial been told to the Marines. If this is so, "told by the Marines" is a phrase that may well enter into the treasury of popular mythology.

But the Marines have champions to defend their honour. "I am filled with sadness that the President should speak so contemptuously of such a great body of men," said one Senator; "It seems inconceivable that the President should compare the Marine Corps with the most corrupt, dishonest and dishonourable propaganda machine in all history," said another.

★

So do records come and go, Dr. Goebbels is already surpassed. In passing, it may be noted that this description of the Russian propaganda machine, given by an American and reported in the "Daily Mail," is an admirable example of the pot calling the kettle black within the precincts of the kitchen grate.

It should not be forgotten, however, that the President may have been misunderstood. His remark may not have been intended sarcastically at all.

Mr. Truman is, we understand, a simple-minded man, and in suggesting that the Marines were "corrupt, dishonest and dishonourable," he may have been paying them the highest compliment he knew. For it is obvious that a military force that was pure, honest and honourable as the driven snow would be mighty little help in a cold war and in a hot war would be as much help as a rounders team or a copy of the New Testament.

In this case the really insulting part of the President's speech is that which says that the Marine Corps' propaganda machine is only almost equivalent to Stalin's. If this is true, the Marines must pull their gaiters up.

★

Perhaps they will be inspired by the efforts made by those responsible for British recruiting propaganda. The most careful perusal of their literature and posters issued by the British Government to entice those who want to become adventurers at 17½, reveals no single indication of what an army, navy and air force are really intended for.

People reading these recruiting appeals may be forgiven for assuming that the armed forces exist solely to supercede the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Health by providing vocational training for a job for life and an unparalleled scope of social welfare.

We are proud to think that Stalin dare not present a propaganda as corrupt, dishonest and dishonourable as this to the illiterate Soviet hordes. We are even prouder that the propaganda has had such an effect on recruiting that the Government is now compelled to pay a living wage for killing.

The Marine Corps can also learn from Stalin, even in the matter of recruiting. For Stalin relies largely on two things to bring fodder to the Soviet armies: the low economic standard of masses of people of the world, and the constant threats made by patriotic Americans and Britains to drop atom bombs right and left, especially left.

The Marine Corps should plug the line of higher wages it offers to those civilians made almost bankrupt by having to pay for the Marine Corps. And any armed service offers a comparatively safe refuge to citizens who know that atom bombs are more likely to be dropped upon cities than upon an army.

With the examples of Hiroshima and Bikini in mind, it is difficult to know whether the next atom bomb will be dropped on land or on sea. The Marine Corps, being amphibious, stands a good chance of dodging it either way.

CYRIL HUGHES



# Total Disarmament and Active Security

By CORDER CATCHPOOL

A STILL young newcomer amongst the Peace Movements, born in Liverpool soon after the end of the war and christened "Toldas," paid a first visit to London on Wednesday, Sept. 20, when members of various peace organisations and of the general public had the opportunity of making its acquaintance.

Toldas means *Total Disarmament and Active Security*, and its founder is Dr. Alan Litherland, of 5 Parkway, Great Crosby, Liverpool 23, who explained what the Movement stood for; and probably most of the one hundred or so people present at the smaller Holborn Hall came in total ignorance and some curiosity as to this rather mysterious sounding term. After elucidation, many may have asked themselves whether there was room for an entirely new Peace Organisation, or for the founding of branches in London, which was the primary purpose of the gathering.

It was at least not easy to see where else Toldas could be fitted into the existing framework of the British Peace Movement, after listening to the explanation of its aims and meaning, presented by the clear and capable mind of Dr. Litherland. It claimed, and (pace Lord Boyd-Orr) seemed entitled to a separate niche of its own.

For Toldas is not an exclusively pacifist body, nor a specifically religious one, nor does it approve an individual pledge. That precludes the possibility of its merging with the Peace Pledge Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Friends' Peace Committee, or with any other of the denominational Peace Fellowships; standing for total disarmament, entrance to U.N.A., Federal Union, Union of Democratic Control and

the like is barred to it, and its programme being political but not party political, a merger with the Labour Pacifist Fellowship would be ruled out, even if not already disqualified by LPF pacifism.

We can only hope that Toldas will grow rapidly, and quickly qualify for the right to affiliate with the National Peace Council, so finding cover and helping to support our National Peace Umbrella.

## Human rights—how?

On the platform at the Holborn Hall were three distinguished scientists, Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS, Professor Charles A. Coulson, FRS (chairman), and Dr. Alan Litherland.

The first-named was the principal speaker. She defined and illustrated the meaning of democracy in the western sense, as embodied in the Declaration of Human Rights.

How could these Rights be secured? Not by military power; the cry for security of that kind indicated middle-age-mindedness. Expenditure on armaments meant reduction of expenditure on education and living standards, restricting any extension of the essential freedoms.

It was the general view that without military defence Western Europe would be over-run by Russia and subjected to enforced Communism. "I don't believe that is true," declared Prof. Lonsdale, citing Finland where she had many contacts, as one of the most democratic countries in the world, yet in the orbit of her powerful neighbour the USSR. Communism was much more likely to flourish in Eastern Asia as a result of poverty. Collective Security is unsound, because armaments provoke armaments, and because would-be aggressors are usually gamblers, prepared to take risks. Defeat would merely convince them that they were not lucky or clever enough.

Total Disarmament was also a gamble, the speaker admitted; but our Government had taken risks in making such generous gestures as the liberation of India. We must make still bigger and bolder experiments.

Sow friendship and you would reap peace. This is the "AS" of Toldas. Active Security as contrasted with the supposed security of armaments.

It is a noble challenge, which we accept above all minor differences; a task surely shared by all pacifists, who must be prepared as individuals and as groups to stake their all upon it.

It means total disarmament and at the national-political level means setting out upon the terrific enterprise of convincing the whole nation of the Truth enunciated so courageously by Kathleen Lonsdale, before any practical political action can be taken upon it.

## Sir Hartley answers Dr. Soper

On the day following the Toldas meeting, Sir Hartley Shawcross, Attorney General, expressed what is probably the governmental and perhaps the entire national viewpoint outside pacifist circles, when he said in a speech at Cam in Gloucestershire on Sept. 21 "Sometimes sincere and thoughtful people think that the horror and devastation of a world war now would be so frightful, whoever won, that it would be better to submit to Communist domination. I can understand that view, but I repudiate it."

On the same day a leader of the Peace Movement in this country said, with reference to the building up of military might in the interests of the UN and U.S. Collective Security policy, that their case was logically quite unanswerable, except from the pacifist standpoint? Toldas, however, knows where it stands; and has no doubt counted the cost.

Despite difference in policy and emphasis, all pacifists will bless the efforts of Toldas, will wish it every success, and will co-operate as far as strength and prior affiliations allow.

## MEETING BRIEFS

**PLYMOUTH:** Reginald Reynolds will speak on "The Constructive Programme of Mahatma Gandhi" at Friends House at a conference to be held there on Oct. 7 and 8. On the second day the subject for discussion at 2.30 will be "The World Pacifist Conference in India."

**CENTRAL LONDON** Group of the Peace Pledge Union had four meetings during September, the first being a Social Evening at which Nancy Edmonds and Harry Mister sang. A member of the Communist Party's Artist Group discussed "Artist Problems Today" at the second meeting and this was followed by a talk the next week from Douglas Clark on "Arts and Letters." Roger Page gave an account of his recent tour of Australia at the most recent meeting.

**AYLESBURY** PPU Group have circularised the Local Education Committee, U.N.A. Branch, Women's Guilds, Trades Unions, etc., urging these organisations to con-

# IF BRITAIN WERE OCCUPIED

"I hope no one would 'liberate' us"

— Rev LEWIS MACLACHLAN

The North London Peace Centre at 3 Blackstock Road, Finsbury Park, was declared open on Sept. 23, at a garden party and celebration held at Holloway Friends Meeting House.

DECLARING the Centre open, its honorary president, Bernard Boothroyd, Editor of Peace News, said that when he lived in South London he believed, with the logic of true patriotism, that North London was an inferior place.

He had since modified that opinion, and today he believed North London was setting an example to the whole country by launching a new campaign at a time when the pacifist movement badly needed renewed enthusiasm and vitality.

## We are being judged

Addressing an indoor meeting which followed, the Rev. Pat Figgis stressed the need for tolerance, often forgotten in the zeal of propaganda.

Illogical as it might appear, many people judged a cause by the followers of that cause; and pacifists were being watched and judged.

He urged pacifists to face up to the full implications of their creed. To follow the pacifist way might mean drastically reduced standards of living, occupation by a foreign power and tyranny.

On the other hand, they must realise that to many people war preparations seemed to offer hope of what they immediately desired — better material conditions; and the way of war was more attractive than ever.

## The Truth about "liberation"

The Rev. Lewis MacLachlan, Editor of "Reconciliation," said the worst feature of wars was that they completely ignored the people involved in them.

Just now we heard only of the wicked North Koreans and the noble stand against them by the forces of the United Nations. It was only afterwards that we would learn of the social disintegration and the personal sufferings of the refugees. And only afterwards, when we saw the whole picture, would we realise that the war ought never to have been fought.

He felt intense pity for the poor Koreans who had to submit to this dreadful process called "liberation."

It reminded him of the story of the four boy scouts who, reporting good deeds for the day, all said they had "helped an old lady across the road."

"But look here," said the Scoutmaster, "do you mean it took four of you to get the old lady across the road?"

"Yes, sir," was the reply. "You see, she didn't want to go."

He thought that a fair example of how "liberation" worked. The people concerned were not consulted. And he devoutly hoped that if at some future date we found ourselves occupied by the Russians, no other nation would think it their sacred duty to come and liberate us.

## The One-ness of life

Swami Ayyakantananda, one of the leaders of the Vedanta Movement and Chairman of the recent Conference of World Religions, said he thought one of the tasks of pacifists was to study those non-violent means by which the ideal society could be brought about, and to propagate those ideas which underlay all the great faiths in the world.

He spoke as an individual pacifist who had signed the Communist Peace Petition because he believed that all attempts at peace should have our moral support.

He emphasised the common life underlying all forms of life, which was a spiritual as well as a biological truth, and said the new social order we needed must be based on that central truth of the one-ness of all life.

The task for such peace centres was to study how to create the demand for both spiritual and economic democracy, in a system as comprehensive as Marxism. Capitalism could not exist without exploitation, but he believed a public opinion could be created which would demand a Gandhian society.

David Garside, a schoolmaster and initially secretary of the Centre, gave his own personal testimony for peace, describ-

ing his enlistment in 1939, his conversion to pacifism and refusal to continue serving in the Army Education Corps, and his subsequent court-martial and four years' imprisonment.

Geoffrey Thompson, Chairman of the Centre, appealed for support for the new venture which, besides providing fellowship and a meeting place, gave opportunities for the training of speakers and the spreading of propaganda.

During the afternoon there were side-shows in the garden, including gift stalls, a bookstall and a very competent palmer, Madame Marita (otherwise Margaret Bingham), and in the evening refreshments were followed by a concert.

This included a special "Peace Centre Anthem" with words by Gerald Massey and music by the Rev. Eric Rees of St. Anne's, Finsbury Park, and sung by St. Anne's choir. Solos were given by Alison Baker (anthem), Duncan Irving (piano), Joan Armstrong (soprano) and Eric Rees (baritone).

# Sybil Morrison at Lincoln's Inn

Peace News Reporter

EVERY Thursday, cloudy or fine, Sybil Morrison stands on the steps of a drinking fountain at a corner of London's Lincoln's Inn Fields, expounding the pacifist case, and answering questions from the crowd.

Several hundred people are always there; mostly men, and mostly from offices in the vicinity. Many of them are regular attenders, who always spend their Thursday lunch-hour in this fashion.

This is no orderly public meeting. Without a chairman to call upon speakers, people shout and interrupt each other, but Sybil manages to keep them reasonably well-mannered with a mixture of good humour and force of personality.

She also has that attribute of a good open air speaker, second only in importance to a carrying voice; she can turn a vaguely phrased half comment, half question into a theme for a short speech on any topic that the member of the crowd likes to take up, anyways relating her remarks to the pacifist case.

## KOREA

Last week Sybil started on Korea. She was asked whether she believed that the published results of the spring elections in Korea, which stated that 90 per cent. of the South Koreans polled an anti-Communist vote, were accurate.

Elections which took place under a foreign occupying power were not valid in Sybil's opinion. Only if the armies of the U.S. and Russia were removed could you have proper elections in Korea.

She was prepared to argue that no European power had ever given anything of value to the Far East. Cries of "Here, Here," from the crowd. The Communists were accepted because they did offer something different from naked economic exploitation.

## MOSCOW

Later she was asked why she did not go and speak in Moscow, Sybil asked the questioner whether, if he was giving a lecture on the management of his business, he would say his firm was perfectly honest, or whether he would say if they could get the firm over the road to conduct its business in an honourable fashion then he would follow suit?

"Why," she said, "should I go to Moscow before I have converted all the people here?"

## INDIA

The centre of interest then shifted to India. Clive did not go there to make a nation of the Indians but because there was profit to be had there Sybil said.

Noticeable feature of Thursday's meeting was that the main body of the crowd seemed to be on Sybil's side. So much so that at one point, when she confounded a questioner in the illogical toils of his own argument, the crowd cheered her, and when one man shouted out that we had educated India, Sybil's sceptical expression was echoed by yells of derision from the audience.

# IRENOUNCEWARANDI WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS  
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C1

# AGGRESSION, APPEASEMENT AND PEACE

Peace News Reporter

MANCHESTER

PROFESSOR Kathleen Lonsdale, speaking at Friends House here on Sept. 18, took for her subject "Aggression, Appeasement and Peace."

The First World War was "a war to end war"; it failed. The Second World War was to save democracy; it did not. The Third World War now going on in Korea, was to end aggression; we are entitled to question whether it will.

In a democracy the minority was not only recognised, it was integrated into the system, vide the Government and Opposition in Parliament. Was a minority entitled to overthrow a corrupt majority?

## China and democracy

China had never been a democracy; the choice lay between two totalitarian regimes: the honest and efficient Communist Government, which was chosen by most of the people in preference to the dishonest and corrupt Nationalists.

To most Chinese this was liberation, and as they had recognised this Government it should be recognised by us and replace the Nationalists in UN councils.

Before the Korean war, the UN had been paralysed by U.S. refusal to recognise this, and since the Soviet walkout, U.S. policy had met with no opposition in the UN, resulting in no representation for Eastern peoples.

## Annexation or appeasement?

Soviet annexation of Korea might represent a legitimate expansion of her largely ice-bound coastline, but modern conditions made such expansion a danger to peace. Could we only stop it by force or appeasement, Prof. Lonsdale asked?

The admittance of China to the UN was regarded as appeasement but it was not; appeasement meant saving your own skin at the expense of someone else's.

A settlement must be made in the interests of all Korean people, and other Asian opinion, Indian, Pakistan and Burmese, must be satisfied. Such a settlement must be worked out now while the tide was running in our favour.

## Gamble for peace

The problems of peace were to find a way for opposites to live together and to avert world famine. It was to our mutual advantage to live rather than to die together, which was the present system that the threat of war was only consolidating.

Rearmament was a gamble on power; we must gamble on love.

We needed £1,750 million a year to offer a concrete alternative to Communism in the Far East; President Truman's fourth point only offered £7 million.

M. Attlee had said that we must take risks for peace. The real risks were experiments in friendliness and co-operation; they had never yet been made, but without them we can never hope to achieve real peace.



# ETHICS AND RELIGION

A MEETING of the Religion Commission of the Peace Pledge Union's Steps to Peace Conference was held at Dick Sheppard House last Saturday, when Bernard Boothroyd, Editor of Peace News, gave an address on "The outlook for religious pacifism." Rowland Philcox was in the chair.

The speaker said he believed the outlook for religious pacifism was the outlook for religion itself.

Firstly, he said, they had to define religion. The word was used very loosely. Religion was not simply a matter of fervour and devotion. Religion demanded a cosmology, an explanation of the origin, purpose and laws of the universe.

Men could have a cosmology without a religion. But there was another essential requisite—worship; that is, the realisation that the universe, by its very nature, must be the expression of a personal mind and will, and that this person compelled awe and adoration.

He doubted if materialism could compel that. Awe, perhaps, but not adoration. Materialism was more likely to regard the universe as an accident or a mistake—as C.K.O. said, "A mistake that nobody made."

Religion today was a minority opinion. We lived in an age when man was trying to do without religion; ignoring the spiritual universe; trying to establish rules of behaviour without reference to anything outside himself.

There were, of course, laws which modern man did regard as inviolable and inexorable, operating universally outside man's will or control—namely, the laws of nature, or science.

## Ethics alone are not enough

Ethics, on the other hand, was regarded as a separate kind of laws, which had no universal application.

That was why, in spite of his advance in moral theory, personal and social, man was behaving as badly as ever—much to his own surprise. He did not believe moral law was absolute.

Men were still saying "ethics is enough." But ethics was not enough. Ethics without religion left ethics without sanctions, without authority and therefore without power.

If morality was only a code invented by man, then man's faith in morality depended on his faith in himself. And it was a characteristic of this age that man did not believe in himself. The literature and drama of our time was one long, self-pitying moan about man's impotence in face of forces he cannot control.

This principle—that morality must have eternal sanctions—had been forgotten. We had been taught Christian ethics in the wrong way, as if Christ gave them to us as something to try and do as well as we can just to please Him; or as unattainable ideals to think about in leisure moments when we wanted a bit of uplift.

The speaker believed that, on the contrary, Christ had given us those laws as inexorable, scientific laws with inescapable moral and effect; on which the very existence of the universe depended.

There was no difference between moral

law and scientific law, and men would not have power to enforce their own moral principles until they regarded them as unalterable and universal.

If, for example, believing that "ethics was enough," you said to a man, "Love your neighbour as yourself" and he replied, "But I don't; and I don't see why I should," then what could you do?

There was only one thing you could do; show the universal application of that rule; that it was a scientific law, one of the laws on which life on the planet ultimately depended, without which there could be no individual freedom or social stability—in short—that it was a natural law.

But by the time you had made him believe that you would have given him a religion.

The speaker commended to their consideration the old saying—"As men believe the universe to be, so will they behave."

Today men believed more than ever in personal responsibility, but because they believed that no-one is responsible for the universe they are behaving without responsibility.

Because they believed there are no sanctions behind their principles they had no faith in those principles. There could be faith in moral law, ultimately, without faith in a law-giver.

As for the outlook for religious pacifism, they must judge that by what probability there was of men applying divine sanctions to one moral law in particular—the relation of means to ends.

## Urgent problem of our age

Every age had its particular problem. Man was evolving all the time, and a law which was urgent to one generation was less urgent to the next. To our age the urgent problem was the realisation that means and ends were identical.

That was natural, as this was pre-eminently an age of means without ends. Men were getting bothered by the need to find ends for the various means they had invented; for they found that their means were running away with them like wild horses for lack of defined direction.

This would create an increasing desire to discover authoritative sanctions for the moral principles they believed in (peace, for instance); but had not yet found the power to apply. In that way the growing fear of war might evoke a new inquiry into the nature and source of spiritual power.

Pacifism—that is, the actual ending of war—might come before any religious revival. It might come through sheer, automatic reaction against the obvious futility of war.

In that case it would not be the end of human and social tensions, and their Christian pacifism would have to be directed towards other forms of disarmament.

## INTRODUCING "PEACE BUILDERS"

# Peace Building requires a new approach

BOTH the crisis of our age and the obvious lack of progress being made in the peace movement has caused many of us to reconsider our whole approach.

Peace Builders believe there are many within the peace and other social-action movements who are ready and anxious for a movement that is founded on a more embracing concept. Our movement seeks to encourage closely knit local service teams of people who want to make peace building a total way of life. Our aim is a movement that strengthens the existing peace organisations and broadens the concept of peace action by creative example and co-operative efforts.

The methods we have been using in the past have all made their contribution but they appear to be quite inadequate to produce the needed revolution in our economic, social and spiritual life. Our efforts to persuade by argument are as futile as to convince a man not to jump to his death from a burning building when he is being scorched in a flaming inferno.

The only thing that can persuade the people to change their course is to convince them of a real, available, positive alternative. Until we actually demonstrate by actions which the public understand that there is an effective method of resisting social evils and aggression our hysterical populations will continue the slaughter.

Conscientious objection to war has its value. But does it actually resist war when the objector's work, standard of living and whole way of life only further the war-producing social and economic maladjustments?

We deny the inevitability of war. Yet have we not been trying to overcome by propaganda the very consequences that our economic and social life produce?

If we believe there is a moral law in the universe, can we criticise other people's making war while we continue to accept a standard of living that is maintained at the price of poverty, oppression and economic slavery for millions of colonial and subject peoples around the world?

Wilfred Wellock and others have pointed out for years that logical war resistance involves the development of a social order which does not, by its very nature, produce war. It seems that the day has come when peace makers can no longer be satisfied with just good will and denunciation of the war system. The blind love of so many pacifists may be as dangerous as the acts of a misguided mother.

Our need today, in this complex mass-production civilisation, is not only a brotherly attitude but also a social-technical understanding of the involved social problems. Only by understanding the process of social change will we learn what kind of an economic and social system can and must be built.

A Peace Builders team has a balanced programme making it possible for the active participants to express this way of life corporately.

The study circle examines various successful social movements and tries to discover not only what constitutes a non-violent social order but also to understand what can be done by the group and by individuals to sow seeds of this new social approach.

The service projects, some of which are manual, seek to face immediate problems not merely by alleviating the suffering but by helping the needy people get a new start in a creative environment—one which can be a beginning of a more humane community.

The team members examine their fundamental personal values and attitudes and sometimes have group meditation. They also reach out to other socially creative groups in many parts of the world through correspondence, trips and eventually common conferences, work projects.

But we must start from where we are now.

We recognise that a dynamic movement springing from the roots can not be organised by a few individuals. It must grow out of the needs, commitments and understanding of the people who make it live.

We believe that one of the best things we can do, therefore, is to help open-minded people broaden their understanding of constructive peace and social action by learning from the experiences of many groups and individuals in many parts of the world.

One of the most effective ways of making this possible is to help them travel, work and live with peace builders in other countries. Our movement is, therefore, developing a system, now covering 20 countries in Europe, Asia and America, to help guide socially conscious youth, who have the maturity to take care of themselves and the initiative to plan and travel alone.

By our "chain" of free two day hospitalities with community groups, experimental schools, religious groups and people who are peace leaders, co-operators, youth leaders, inter-racial leaders, etc., we believe we can not only make valuable international contacts but help those youth who already have a desire to serve their community, to broaden their horizons and gain courage and inspiration to return home and start peace building teams. We are, therefore, anxious to have the socially conscious readers of Peace News on our "open door" list. If you can offer at least a mattress on the floor for a foreign youth who would appreciate knowing your family for a couple of days, or if you want more details about the movement write to: Peace Builders, 36 Holloway Head, Birmingham 1.

BOB LUITWEILER

## Notes for your Diary

### Monday, October 9

**BIRMINGHAM:** 7 p.m. Dick Sheppard House, 36 Holloway Head; Roger Page on his recent visit to Australia and the peace movement there; PPU.

### Wednesday, October 11

**AYLESBURY:** 7.15 p.m. Walton Hall; Vera Brittain: readings from "In the Steps of John Bunyan"; Admission 1s. Tickets from Ethel Lewis, The Manse, Brill Aylesbury, Bucks; PPU.

**STEPNEY:** 8 p.m. Stepmey Green Jewish Girls' Club, Beaumont St. (opposite to Stepmey Green underground station); First showing of new IVSP film: "Aburuzi, 1945"; Organiser: John Roper, 27 Cole Park Road, Twickenham; IVSP.

### Thursday, October 12

**HAMPSTEAD:** 8 p.m. Friends House, Heath St. (Hampstead Tube Station); Roger Page: "Down Under"; Discussion; Secretary: John Wynne-Tyson, 17a Pond St., N.W.3. HAM 0174; PPU.

**LONDON:** W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open-air Meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

### Friday, October 13

**LONDON:** W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh Gardens; Reginald Reynolds on "Basic Education in India"; Central London PPU.

### Saturday, October 14

**COLWYN BAY:** 3.15 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Erskine Road; Speaker: Rev. Clifford H. Macquire; Area Conference of North Wales; For.

**GLASGOW:** C.I.: 3 p.m. Community House, 214 Clyde Street; Devotional meeting; Speaker: Rev. A. A. Bowyer, Bellahill, on "The Supremacy of Christ"; For. SEVENOAKS: 3.30 and 6 p.m. Sevenoaks School of Dancing, Argyle Road, Speaker: Reginald Sorensen, MP. West Kent Area Conference; For.

**HIGHGATE:** 6.30 p.m. Sysonk College, Millfield Lane, West Hill (2 minutes from Parliament Hill Fields Trolley bus terminus); Social gathering and concert; Refreshments; RSVP to Jim Legge, c/o Sysonk College; IVSP.

**KIDDERMINSTER:** 3.30 p.m. Oxford Cafe, Speaker: Hugh Faulkner; Area Conference for North Worcestershire; For.

**GLASGOW:** 2.30 p.m. St. Andrews Mid Hall (Berkeley St.); Conference of the Stop War Committee; See page 6.

### Saturday, Oct. 14-Sunday, Oct. 15

**MIDDLESBOROUGH:** Ayton School; Conference for boys between the ages of 16 and 18. Introductory talks on "Provision of the Military Service Act" and "The CO. the Peace Testimony and Alternative Service." Applications not later than October 6, to the Secretary, Northern Friends Board, Clifford Street, York. SOF.

### Wednesday, October 18

**LEEDS:** 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Carlton Hill; Roger Page on "The Peace Movement in Australia"; PPU.

**SAFFRON WALDEN:** 7.30 p.m. Town Hall, Saffron Walden. Speakers: Prof. Kathleen Lonsdale and the Rev. Clifford Macquire; For.

**AYLESBURY:** 7.15 p.m. Friends Meeting House; Speaker: Gwyneth Anderson; All welcome; PPU.

### Thursday, October 19

**CAMBRIDGE:** 6.30 p.m. The Library, Wesley Church; Christ's Pieces; Speaker: Rev. Clifford Macquire; Details from Bernard Challis, Church Lane, Dullingham, Newmarket; Area Conference; For.

**COVENTRY:** 7.30 p.m. 3 Stoke Avenue, Stoke Park, PPU. SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m. Channing Hall, Surrey St.; CO Rally; Speaker: Roger Page; Refreshments.

### Friday, October 20

**LONDON:** W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh Gardens; John Irwin, Assistant Keeper of Indian Section Victoria and Albert Museum; Central London PPU.

### Saturday, October 21

**LONDON:** W.C.2: 11 a.m. St. Martin-in-the-Field; Holy Communion, to be followed at 2.15 p.m. by the Annual General Meeting; Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

**NORTHAMPTON:** 6 p.m. Friends Meeting House Wellington St. (a turning off Akington St.); Bernard Boothroyd, Editor of Peace News, on "Pacifism and the Press"; Chairman: Rev. H. O. Evans; PPU.

**NOTTINGHAM:** 3.15 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Friar Lane; Lyn Harris, Headmaster of St. Christopher's School, Letchworth, on "The Pacifist Approach to the Problems of Today"; Refreshments; CBCC.

**SWANSEA:** 3 p.m. and 6 p.m. Friends Meeting House; Speaker: Clifford H. Macquire; Area Conference for West Glamorgan and South Carmarthen; For.

**Saturday, Oct. 21-Sunday, Oct. 22** SHEFFIELD: at "Hollowford"; For weekend school; Details from Winifred Golding, 140 Hunter House Road; Sheffield, 11.

### Monday, October 23

**LONDON:** W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square; Piano recital by Frank Merrick in aid of Stepmey Pacifist Service Unit; Works by Beethoven ("Appassionata"), Chopin, William Wordsworth and others; Tickets 2s. 6d., 4s., 6s., 10s. from Stepmey PSU, 355 The Highway, E.1. Tel Royal 4664.

### Saturday, October 28

**SHEFFIELD:** 3 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane; Yorkshire Area Meeting; PPU.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

### PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

**LATEST TIME for copy:** Monday before publication.

**TERMS:** Cash with order. 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4. When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

### MEETINGS

**ANNUAL REUNION** for all COs. Friends Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2, Saturday, October 28, 4 p.m. AGM. North Eastern Regional Board for COs. 5.30 p.m. Tea. 1s. 6d. per person. 6.30 p.m. Public meeting. Stanley F. Sweet, "Pacifism and Communism" Questions and discussion. Collection for funds of local advisory committee.

**WICKING HOUSE** Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube). Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

### ACCOMMODATION

**COMFORTABLE HOME** offered to refined middle-aged widower. Ref. preferred. Folkestone, Box 211.

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**YOUNG LOCAL Government Officer** would appreciate offer of simple accommodation and breakfasts in Birmingham area. Noel Hustler, 27 Broadmere Road Ipswich.

### PERSONAL

**MARRIAGE BUREAU** offers unrivalled personal service. Nation-wide clientele. Mary Blair (Room 69), 147 Holborn, E.C.1. **WORKING FOR peace in October?** In 11 countries this summer international volunteer groups doing practical work for communities in need, have made positive contribution to creation of peaceful society. Members and sympathisers are reminded OCTOBER is set aside for special money-raising efforts to extend this work. Information International Voluntary Service for Peace, 3 Cromwell Road, London, S.W.7.

### LITERATURE, &c.

**QUAKERISM** Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

**HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP** can supply promptly all your book requirements from Penguins to Encyclopedias. Book tokens issued and exchanged. Mail order service our speciality. Send for latest list. Housmans Bookshop (in association with Peace News), 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

### SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

**GESTETNER DUPLICATING**, every variety. Mabel Eyles, 395 Hornsey Road, London, N.19. ARC 1765/MOU 1701.

### MISCELLANEOUS

**WAR RESISTERS' International** welcomes gifts of foreign stamps on undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connection with, the matter advertised.

## PLEASE HAND THIS TO YOUR NEWSAGENT Please deliver PEACE NEWS to me weekly

To M..... (Newsagent's name)

Name.....

Address.....

Note to Newsagent—PEACE NEWS is published weekly as a national newspaper at the retail price of 3d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers, at 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.



## Up and doing!

## OUR TARGET

THIS flimsy issue of PEACE NEWS will remind readers of the bad old days when we charged them three-pence for a penny-size paper.

Does it also remind you that the Peace News campaign for 12,500 readers by the end of this year is still far short of its target, with only three months to go?

This is the time of year when meetings and opportunities for making new contacts are at a maximum. If only one reader in ten gains another this month we shall be 1,000 nearer the aim.

A single reader determined on success could invert the ratio and get ten from one in this time!

12,500 regular readers by December 31 will pay the printing bill (but only that) for the two extra pages you normally get.

Make a special effort NOW to get new readers for the bigger Peace News. Extra copies for free distribution can be posted direct to you for 1s. 6d. a dozen (plus postage 4d.). Publicity material in wide variety is available free. H.F.M.

Circulation last week 10,800

Printing delays have held back despatch of your sample

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**WILFRED WELLOCK**

in

## GANDHI AS A SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY

Reports in full

the findings of the Social Order and Basic Education Committee (which he chaired) of the World Pacifist Conference, visits to Gandhian Village Industries' Centres in S. India, discussion with Gandhi's co-workers, and measures Western materialism, against the challenge of Gandhian economics.

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## SPECIAL OFFER ENDING

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CONSCRIPTION CONFLICT

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**31st October, 1950**

after which date the full price of 12s. 6d. and sixpence will have to be paid. If you have not secured copies at the special rate send now, cash with order to:

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3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4

## PEACEMAKING IN EDUCATION

## Worry about the parents — not toy guns

**M**EMBERS of the Education Commission of the Peace Pledge Union and interested friends, met under the Chairmanship of Miss Florence Surfleet at Friends House, London, on Saturday, Sept. 30, for a half-day conference, in the desire to see more clearly how the pacifist teacher and parent can best meet the situations of difficulty that the child presents to the adult.

It was a widely representative gathering, consisting of parents, teachers of varying experience, and others, including the editor of a magazine on Child Education and workers from nursery schools and Youth clubs.

The exchange of ideas and experience in an informal way during the long tea interval played a very important part in knitting the whole together, and the discussion after each speech proved to be stimulating and lively.

Mr. Anthony Weaver, who is beginning a new post as warden of Ponds Home School for Maladjusted Children under the National Association for Mental Health, was the first speaker.

"As a pacifist I feel that war is the greatest delinquent activity," he said. "Government violence and destruction make so-called juvenile delinquency child's play."

The aim of education was the "generation of happiness," and the maladjusted child was one because he had not had his basic needs satisfied. In dealing with him we had to try and remedy what had been missed before, and we could do this largely by supplying opportunities for creative activities in play, as well as for learning.

### Guns and aggressive play

Discussion dealt with the question of guns and aggressive play. Some speakers felt that all children passed through such a stage, while others thought that this was unnecessary, given enough creative activities.

Mr. Raymond O'Malley, Senior English Master at Dartington Hall School, said there was no legitimate way by which a pacifist dealing with children could be sure that they would later sign the peace pledge. Pacifism was not a dogma but an attitude, a way of looking at life.

It was a kind of conversion or discipline, but the person to be converted was oneself, and it was up to education to strengthen the love impulses and to release the effect of subconscious destructive urges.

When a child played with a toy gun, he said, he was expressing his need to get rid of an enemy, not outside, but inside himself, and was going through a necessary stage. He should be helped to canalise that energy, without any sense of guilt, in creative activities. If there was much bullying in a school, there was something vitally wrong with the school.

After the tea interval, Mrs. Cora Southgate of Luton, the mother of three children, said that you could not make anyone a pacifist but you could try to provide such an environment that the child would develop into a pacifist.

She and her husband had tried to give the sense of security which led to an absence of fear. When children used guns she thought they were wanting to show that they could stand up against things of which they were afraid, but with her own children she did not remember any fighting.

The children had been encouraged to take pleasure in doing their own share of helping in the home, which led to the development of self-discipline and a sense of responsibility.

### STOP WAR COMMITTEE

Chairman: Annie D. Maxton

### CONFERENCE

will be held in

ST. ANDREW'S MID HALL (Berkeley St.)

on Saturday, 14th October, at 2.30 p.m.

Supporting organisations: FoR. ILP. NCL. PPU. USM. WIL. WOF.

Delegation Fees: Individual Delegates ... 1s.

Three Delegates ... 2s. 6d.

Visitors will be welcome. Tickets ... 1s.

### AGAINST ALL MILITARISM

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### Peace News Campaign

All S. Midlands readers of Peace News should make a point of hearing

**Bernard J. Boothroyd**

Editor of "Peace News"

"Yaffle" of "Reynolds News"

at a Public Meeting on

**PEACE and the PRESS**

Saturday, Oct. 21 at 6.0 p.m.

in the

**Friends Meeting House**  
Wellington St., Northampton

Chairman: Rev. H. O. Evans, B.Sc.

Particulars from the organiser:

Allison Coles, 28 Hillside Rd., Wellingborough

Creative imagination was very important for children, and her own had had loads of bricks and oddments of all sizes and shapes for constructive play. The family was a musical one and she thought that music was the greatest ground for the development of the imagination.

There had been a very special feeling on comradeship extended to them by friends when the father was imprisoned as a CO during the war. This feeling was later increased by the visits of German POWs and now they were entertaining German, Greek and Italian children. That way her children had come to see that all nationalities were the same and that there was no room for fear or suspicion.

Mrs. Southgate had been so successful in her methods, that all three children had become pacifists, the two boys having registered as COs.

### Another conference planned

There will be a further conference at Friends House, London, on Nov. 4, when Miss Winifred Wood of Sheerness, a teacher with long experience of large classes, will speak on Discipline in the Large Class.

This period is to be devoted rather to the sharing of experience than to the formulation of principles and ideas, and it should throw light on the problems of parents and teachers of small classes as well.

Parents, particularly those who have their children in large classes, need to understand sympathetically the problems of the teacher of such a class, in order to co-operate with him or her in the wise education of the child. The pacifist teacher, of course, welcomes warmly the co-operation of the parent.

## YUGOSLAVIA

(Continued from page one)

quiries without the presence of any representative of the authorities.

"The interpreters supplied by the Yugoslav Government were helpful and efficient, but we had enough Serbo-Croat among us not to be dependent on interpreters. We were agreeably surprised by the frankness with which people spoke to us and by the spontaneity of their answers.

"We investigated carefully such specific charges as we were able to find in Cominform publicity. We inspected both ports on the island of Korcula and were unable to find the remotest trace of military activity.

"We carried out a full investigation of the military aerodrome at Nish, as usual choosing our own witnesses, and are satisfied that there have not been and are no Western officers at the aerodrome and that it is not being adapted for heavy bombers or jet fighters.

"We enquired everywhere and looked everywhere for any indication of the presence of American or other Western officers or military advisers, but found no trace whatever. We saw a certain amount of old American or British motor transport, and a few Hurricanes and Spitfires, but no modern western military equipment except for one fairly new jeep, which we were told had been bought at Trieste ..."

The Press Conference was told that Soviet charges that the Belgrade-Zagreb highway (The Brotherhood-Unity highway partly built by an international brigade) had been built for military purposes, was fortified, and made adaptable for the landing of American bombers were unfounded. Stuart Morris and another member of the delegation had traversed the whole length of the highway and apart from three old German pill boxes erected on the outskirts of Zagreb during the war and before the road was planned, there was no sign whatever of fortifications.

Although it was possible for aircraft to make use of any concrete roads for landing and taking off, 20 foot width of the Brotherhood highway would not be regarded as usable, except in an emergency, for any large types of bombers.

### Welfare of minorities

Charges that Albanian and Bulgarian minorities had been either massacred or persecuted were likewise proved unfounded. A high degree of cultural autonomy was granted; the minorities had their own schools, their own language and seemed happy in their new environment. There was a wide range of literature available in the languages of the minorities.

There was no doubt that Yugoslavia adhered to the Communist ideology, several members of the delegation declared. Sidney Bailey had read with interest the minutes of the Worker's Council in a large factory, noting the genuine discussion of various problems and the decisions reached by the workers themselves.

A Peace News correspondent with a knowledge of Serbo-Croat is still in Yugoslavia and will be reporting in a future issue.

Sybil Morrison's

## CAMPAIGN COLUMN

Meanwhile, let none of us forget that we owe the cheerful chances of today to the men who fought and died in Korea to defend world order and peace

—Sunday Times, October 1, 1950.

From the standpoint of the free nations the significance of the Communist aggression is not one whit lessened because it has been quickly punished in a masterly campaign. The salutary lesson which the men of the Kremlin have been taught may change their tactics, but it will not change their hearts or their nefarious designs. If the swift victory in Korea were made the signal for any slackening of our defensive efforts defeat could not have been more dangerous.

—Daily Telegraph, Sept. 30, 1950

**I**F General MacArthur's advance to and beyond the 38th Parallel proves to be defeat for the North Korean armies, this victory will undoubtedly be used as propaganda for the argument that force is the only way to keep the peace in a world threatened with total war.

The war in Korea, we shall be told, has been successfully "localised," and because the so-called United Nations' forces have been victorious the rights and wrongs of the dispute need no longer be argued. "Unconditional surrender" has been resurrected as the slogan of the day; the unification of Korea, for which incidentally, the North Koreans were also alleged to be fighting, will now be undertaken by the United Nations, it being understood that the North Koreans wanted unification for the wrong reasons, and under the wrong regime.

The question of who is to be the judge of what is right and what is wrong is in the process of being settled by force of arms.

The pacifist is faced with this argument whenever there is a victory for arms, yet "if Russia had thrown into the Korean battle the whole of its great air force and a small fraction of the millions of its men who are supposed to be under arms, it can be conjectured that General MacArthur's army might have been driven into the sea. What would have been proved if this had happened is the same as what is proved now, no more and no less; that one side was stronger than the other, not that one side was right and the other side wrong."

### No pacifist could say more

The pacifist position is unaltered by this trial of strength in the Far East, and it is significant that a paper such as the Daily Telegraph cannot make any case at all for MacArthur's victory, the Editorial last Saturday exhorting its readers to understand that, in fact, peace had not been secured, world order had not been defended, and victorious arms had brought no change of heart. No pacifist could say more! To demand "unconditional surrender," which proved such a boomerang at the end of the second world war, and to call upon the nation never to relax for one moment in the terrific race in armaments is hardly a hopeful comment on the result of victory, nor an inspiring epitaph for those "men who fought and died in Korea."

For thousands of years nations and Empires have tried to settle disputes by going to war, and it has been constantly argued that the world cannot be ruled by goodwill alone. Since this has never been tried, there is no proof, whereas the proof of wars leading to wars is clear for every sane person to see. The case for war can be assailed from all sides, for even when victory is won there is still no end to it; but the pacifist case is unassailable, based as it is upon good and not upon the everlastingly shifting sands of evil.

Many people, though not yet entirely convinced, are turning towards us, and it is for pacifists to keep the light of their faith undimmed and brightly shining to show the way. This is our task.

**Emrys Hughes, M.P.**

writes every week in

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